1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
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177 583 [192] vermilion on the bride at the door"), *duar bapla* ("door marriage"), or *Diku bapla* ("Hindu marriage"); henceforth it shall be referred to as *DB*. All these names call attention to the fact that in this form, as distinct from all others, vermilion is applied to the bride before the door of the bride's [192] house rather than the groom's. The term *Diku bapla* reminds one in addition that application of vermilion at the bride's house is the Hindu custom, while in all other forms of marriage it is applied at the groom's house. It also points to the fact that this form generally involves more Hindu traits than any other. Unlike the other forms, a proper *DB* requires the hiring of a Hindu band and dancers, and the performance, before the application of vermilion, of the marriage of the bride to a tree, a rite which is practiced by many neighboring Hindu castes. The *DB*, like other arranged marriages, allows the couple if they are mature to give or withhold consent before marriage arrangements are completed. Such consent is almost always forthcoming, for a Santal girl rarely dares to go against her 177 parents' wishes. Nearly all the inhabitants of both the bride's 585 and groom's village are involved in the marriage ceremony and ensuing activities. A large party from the groom's village accompanies the groom to the village of his bride. Tradition requires his family to hire from some Hindu caste (usually Harijans or members of other castes of low status) a number of men to carry the groom on a palanquin to the bride's house; a Hindu dancing girl and entertainers ought also to be part of the entourage. Today, if the groom happens to be a TISCO [495] worker returning to his village to have a *DB* marriage, he may be borne by a hired taxi instead. One such worker imported [533] for the occasion, a hired wagon equipped with a phonograph and loud speakers, thereby enabling his rural brethren to listen

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to Indian cinema music in which the syncopations of "rock 'n roll" were considerably in evidence.

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The large number of participants in a *DB* not only gives testimony to affluence of the families being united but is indicative that the marriage establishes a bond between villages as well as between kin and the couple. This broader social implication is borne out by certain obligatory acts in all marriage forms but is particularly conspicuous in the two highest forms.

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In both of these forms the concern of the entire village is most dramatically expressed in two rites which precede the marriage, i.e., the "scold the husband song" (*jawā eger sereṅ*) and the "riddle song" (*episet' seren'*). The first of these rites, which is performed in the bride's village before the marriage rite itself, involves mocking the appearance, virtue, and wealth of the groom and his party and is done by the assembled village females. The second rite is led by a collection of village representatives (*mōṛe hoṛ*) which may include any of the married men of the bride's village. They halt the groom's party along the pathway to the bride's house demanding answers to riddles. It is made to appear that the groom's party shall not be permitted to pass if the correct answers are not forthcoming. On one occasion which I observed, the correct answers were not given, so that the groom's party could only move on by the grace of the village representatives and after being somewhat humiliated. It would appear that the type of riddles posed could not be divined without prior instruction in certain traditional knowledge. One hears such riddles as the following: "What is it that tied walks and untied sits and rests?" Answer: "When you plow, then you tie the bullocks, and you tie the plow to the yoke; if you tie them they will walk and you will chase them; when you finish, you untie them, bullocks and yoke." Or to give